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EDUCATION IN THE PEACE CORPS. EVOLVING CONCEPTS OF VOLUNTEER TRAINING. NOTES AND ESSAYS ON EDUCATION FOR ADULTS, 48.

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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUC. FOR ADULTS

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NOTES AND ESSAYS ON EDUCATION FOR ADULTS 48

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Evolving Concepts of Volunteer Training

JULES PAGANO

CENTER for the STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
at Boston University

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EDUCATION IN THE PEACE CORPS

Evolving Concepts of Volunteer Training

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Peace Corps

CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS**
at Boston University

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"How many of you are willing to spend 10 years in Africa or Latin America or Asia working for the U. S. and working for freedom? How many of you (who are going to be doctors) are willing to spend your days in Ghana? Technicians or engineers: how many of you are willing to work in the Foreign Service and spend your lives travelling around the world? On your willingness to do that, on your willingness to contribute part of your life to this country, I think will depend the answer whether we as a free society can compete. I think we can, and I think Americans are willing to contribute. But the effort must be far greater than we have made in the past."

John F. Kennedy
University of Michigan
October 14, 1960

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INTRODUCTION

This is a proud story of a conscientious attempt on the part of a group of educators to face up to a difficult task—to train young men and women to fulfill an American commitment to help developing countries through education. This account of the Peace Corps program of Volunteer training is being published by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults because, in addition to being a story of a famous venture with its own internal interest and integrity, it contains also important implications for future thought about the education of adults everywhere.

To the adult educator, the document clearly points up the fact that the young people being trained for the Peace Corps are in fact being prepared for a job in adult education and a vastly complicated one. The complexity resides in at least two factors. Trainees must be prepared to operate in a culture which is not only foreign, but also non-Western—a great leap in thought and mores. And their subjects will speak a different language—both literally and figuratively.

Most of us are aware in a general way of the difficulties created by this compounding of strangeness upon strangeness. But the magnitude of the burden tends to escape those of us who have not had to face the problem of being a teacher or educator in a land whose customs and practices we do not understand in the very marrow of our bones, and in whose language we operate at a child's level. That the Peace Corps training program here described by Jules Pagano has faced such problems head on is testimony to the wisdom and commitment of its architects.

The fundamental principle of Peace Corps training, as the program is reported in these pages, is the notion of total cultural immersion; the ultimate effect is a "liberally educated" Volunteer. Trainees learn, first, language, customs, and attitudes by a process of absorption, exposed not only to direct teaching, but also to actual field experience. Second, they meet individuals on the faculty who have lived in the land to be served—either as natives or as overseas workers. Third, more and more returning volunteers, fresh from their own overseas stations, are becoming the teachers in the new training programs. And finally, perhaps especially significant, specific training objectives are placed in broad perspectives and in a cross-cultural context, to insure a cadre of trainees who can continue to develop as liberally educated educators.

Working in what is essentially a crash program, with Volunteers coming from various academic backgrounds (but generally not in education, and particularly not in adult education), the Peace Corps program has been able to evolve ideas and methods that work for them. These efforts have stood the tests already

given them; they will, one feels, work even better in the future when the necessity for today's haste is no longer with us.

The implications of the program obviously extend beyond the limits of foreign Peace Corps service—reaching wherever adult education must bridge barriers of differences in culture or philosophy. From this document, much of relevance may be learned by those who are training personnel for the domestic Peace Corps, the Job Corps, and for general work among the educationally and culturally deprived in this country. For adult educators, there is still another lesson in the fact that the Peace Corps experience challenges the notion long held in adult education that young people are unsuitable as educators of adults; in the Peace Corps young volunteers have been quite successful "teachers" of adults of all ages.

This volume should be read first, therefore, as an informative account of a little known aspect of a famous enterprise—the Peace Corps. But it should be read also for its descriptions of training methods that contain clear overtones for those concerned with devising programs for the education of adults and educators of adults.

Peter E. Siegle

A LEARNING EXPERIENCE

Sifting through the thousands of words which have been written about the Peace Corps, one is struck by the similarity of tone and content; praises, warm comments, international interest, remarkable achievements seem to dominate. The newspapers, magazines, and journals of the world have contributed the image of a Spartan group of dedicated men and women lashed to the imaginary mast of mission, bringing light and truth to the dark corners of the world. This image will long endure to haunt us or to cheer us, depending upon our persuasion.

Some of the glowing details of this image are accurate; others are just coming into focus. But those of us who have been closely connected with the Peace Corps know that there is much more to its reality than pure dedication.

We at the Division of University Relations and Training are in the business of training Peace Corps Volunteers.[1] This means that every three months at dozens of carefully selected universities around the country, at two special training sites in Puerto Rico, and at a recently established training center in the Virgin Islands, hundreds of men and women go through the process of becoming Peace Corps Volunteers.

Four years ago this was a relatively simple process. A small band of hand picked trainees went to a half-dozen colleges where they embarked upon a rather vague academic program which had been described over the telephone and in Peace Corps brochures in glowing terms. The volunteers first experience with what we call culture shock may well have occurred at the training site on opening day. The did push-ups in the morning, had three vitamin-packed meals a day, ran through the selection gamut, were pummeled, punctured, and tested. Presto! We had instant Volunteers who knew a little about their destination, had a lot of guts, and a remarkable spirit, but not much more know-how than when they started.

Month by hectic month training became more professional. A learning process on both sides of the fence—university vis-a-vis Peace Corps/Washington—took place. One university, which had challenged the Peace Corps concept of training, began making some accommodations to the idea of "quick training." A Peace Corps training officer who had chafed at the idea of academic work being forced upon his charges before they were adequately exposed to practical experience, began to experiment with new designs in the training pattern.

Even today we have not evolved a sure-fire system; but from program to program we adapt and innovate, always attempting to improve training methods.

The Peace Corps now has a host of criteria for training, determined over 48 months. So do the universities. A rapprochement has developed between the Peace Corps and the universities which will provide a healthy basis for a continuing educational relationship. We now have facts to work with, some real measurements about Volunteers and their performance. We have concrete information about conditions overseas, or as we call it "the field." The universities doing the training are more fully informed, and together we hope to achieve excellence in the training program.

The changes in perspective and in standards of relevancy which have taken place in the Peace Corps require us to develop new approaches to learning. And we must continue to make adjustments if we are to more closely relate the training to its purpose. As the Peace Corps moves forward, so too will our determination to provide the best possible orientation for Peace Corps Volunteers. We are committed to consistent and determined progress on their behalf.

LOOKING BACK

March 1961—the electric cry of "Peace Corps" galvanized thousands of Americans into action. Previously, John F. Kennedy, during the presidential campaign, stood on the steps of the University of Michigan Student Union and spoke out:

> On your willingness to contribute part of your life to this country I think will depend the answer whether we as a free society can contribute. I think we can, and I think Americans are willing to contribute. But the effort must be far greater than we have made in the past.

This speech was the first public mention of the Peace Corps, although the idea itself had been expressed many times, by statesmen, missionaries, politicians, and students. It was not a revolutionary idea, but it was a call to act.

From the moment it was articulated, the Peace Corps idea took the country by a landslide. And with election in November 1960, the Washington, D.C. post offices were choked with mail: handy-dandy kits for do-it-yourself everything; treatises on how to; wives offering their husbands; husbands offering their wives; children offering their parents. The response was enormous and heartwarming. Aside from the humor involved—letters addressed to "The Peace Corpse," "Do you need undertakers?"—much of the mail was poignant and asked searching questions. "Is this the way to peace?" The Peace Corps was the symbol of possibility, and Americans were responding with enthusiasm. "Take us," was a chorus heard in every state.

The Peace Corps set up shop in an antiquated Victorian apartment house-cum-office building on the one-block extension of Connecticut Avenue, diagonally across Lafayette Park from the White House. Across the street, in cleaner, lighter, but still crowded quarters worked part of the improvised staff. Men and women came from other government agencies, from politics, from the intelligentsia, from the fringe and beyond, from every level of American activity interested in international service. There was no set rule on who would inherit what estate in the Peace Corps. There was just a steady stream of brisk young women and attache-cased bright youg men in Madison Avenue suits and button-down collars; the well-pressed suits gradually grew wrinkled and less "class" conscious as the night lights burned late on the fifth floor.

For the problems were crushing. Lesser men would have chosen easy solutions. Sargent Shriver, who was not yet officially director, held conference after conference, seeking out the best thinking, picking brains, digesting ideas, plumbing for more. Content, depth, qualty, and imagination, plus the

magic worked by flexibility were the key reasons for the early success of the Peace Corps.

From the piles of correspondence, potential Volunteers were sorted out. Forms were hurriedly prepared and placement tests devised. Packing crates became files. Stationery, pencils, paper appeared from nowhere and were devoured.

Abroad the news was encouraging. Nations in Africa, the Far East, Latin America, and the Near East understood the promise of the program and put in their bids. Program scouts were sent from headquarters to review and solidify requests. And by summer (1961), when Shriver went up to the Hill to request authorization and money, 439 trainees had already begun preparing for their overseas assignments. Another 530 trainees had been spotted for the August through December group.

But the whole world was not wreathed in smiles when the Peace Corps hung out its "Open for Business" sign. There was much skepticism in this country and abroad. Members of Congress scoffed at the idea of young Americans performing in Volunteer roles. "The Kiddie Corps," "untrained youngsters" were some of the wisecracks heard. Many future Peace Corps friends in potential host countries were frankly astonished at this show of volunteerism on the part of the American people. The raised eyebrows and the quizzical shrug matched the jokes.

The detractors saw a strange sight that summer. At Rutgers University in Trenton, N. J., 81 trainees worked 60 hours a week and more for eight weeks to become community developers in Colombia. Their motivation reached unforeseen dimensions. One Volunteer, a hefty 250-pounder, was put on a special diet by a leading American expert in diet control. So determined was he to make it, he practically wished off the extras. But he did not lose enough for the first round of programs. It took several months of conscientious will-power to break the eating habit before he could trim down to Volunteer size. Everybody joined in to help, staff and trainees alike, and Big Al finally went to a Colombia program.

In the first group, surveyors and engineers, 44 in all, checked out the terrain around Texas Western College in El Paso before beginning their two-year hitch in Tanganyika (now Tanzania). Forty-four trainees prepared at Harvard to teach in Nigeria; 58 Volunteers at the University of California at Berkeley trained for a Ghanaian education project; 158 arrived at Pennsylvania State University, University Park, to learn about the Philippines; 52 went to Notre Dame who were bound for Chile; and 65 each reported to the Experiment for International Living, Putney, Vt., and to Colorado State University, at Fort Collins, to begin courses on Pakistan.

That summer was just as exhausting for the Peace Corps Division of Training. We had embarked upon a program for training Volunteers with neither a syllabus or a curriculum—just a lot of ideas and a few fundamental principles. Like a patchwork quilt, training programs were pieced and scraped together for those early contingents; programs to prepare young, middle-aged, and older Americans for tours of duty in vastly different cultures under conditions with which few of them were familiar.

We compartmentalized training into what we thought would be appropriate components. We decided on titles: American Studies, World Affairs, Communism, Area Studies, Physical Education, Technical Skills, Peace Corps Orientation, Language.

In an early training manual instructions read:

"The following distribution of hours is an example of one way which the total 600 scheduled hours of a ten week-program may be distributed. In many programs, such as those for English-speaking Africa, the language component will be much less; in others—particularly those requiring an Asiatic work language—the time devoted to language will be considerably greater. The major variables among the components are the language and technical skill courses."[2] With these general guidelines in mind, the following illustrates one way in which time was distributed among the components:

(1) Technical Studies—to include the knowledge and skills required to perform the assigned job overseas: 100 hours.

(2) Area Studies—to include the historical, political, economic, and cultural aspects of the host country: 75 hours.

(3) Language—to include knowledge of the structure of the indigenous language, basic vocabulary, conversational practice, and technical terms appropriate to the assignment: 240 hours.

(4) American Studies—to include analysis of democratic institutions, United States history, and the current social and economic scene: 35 hours.

(5) World Affairs—to include contemporary international problems, Communist strategy and tactics, and America's role in the world scene: 35 hours.

(6) Health and Medical Training—to include first aid, personal hygiene, and preventative measures required in the assigned areas: 30 hours.

(7) Physical Training and Recreation—to include personal conditioning as well as the practice of American and host country games: 65 hours.

(8) Peace Corps Orientation—to include aims and organizations of the Peace Corps and the Volunteer's role within it: 20 hours.

Total hours------600[3]

These were the bare bones of our first attempts at preparing people to go overseas to work in middle-level manpower skills. Gradually, these guidelines were translated into a pattern which became the norm. It was rigid, lacked variation, and held us to the kind of educated provincialism which is difficult to break away from. In fact, our first attempts at programming bore little relation to the realities of overseas service.

After all, how much did anyone really know about the educational system of Ghana? How much information did the experts have on village life in Colombia? Research? On what? Information from the field? What field—there were no Volunteers overseas yet, nor any staff members outside of a skeleton crew. More basic, what was a Volunteer? Who could define <u>that</u> term?

There were many other questions to be answered. How do you teach languages so that a Volunteer can communicate intelligently with his neighbors? How do you teach adjustment? Do you just drop a Volunteer into the soup and force him to adjust? How can you make him aware of the differences and similarities of cultures? And even though you may explain in detail the traditions of an ancient, Oriental culture, how do you make an American respect those traditions?

The <u>New York Times Magazine</u>, February 28, 1965, quoted from a New York City guidebook which is given to all United Nations delegates upon their arrival:

> Family life in American homes is informal . . . You will find that the wife runs the show . . . Do not feel insulted if the wife dominates the conversation. Women are expected to be intellectual companions . . . and are expected to form and express their opinions on all subjects . . . In public places women usually walk first with the man following when going through doors, etc. Men carry women's packages and open doors for them.

Upon reading this advice, an African delegate's wife was scandalized, reported the <u>Times</u>: "My husband had heard that

American women were masculine, but we hadn't believed it until we arrived."

This disbeliefe was registered about American habits which we take for granted. What then happens to the American woman who becomes a Volunteer in a male dominated society where she can no longer assert her individualism? Can she be an agent for a change? Should she become accustomed to the secondary role? Can a Volunteer submerge something of himself, but not his total identity, in his new environment and thus assimilate its way of life? Can he understand the reasons behind the customs and accept them without bias? It is within this sphere that he must do his job, acclimate himself to a new experience, and plant seeds of social change. Can he then leave behind him a part of his own philosophy; and from the experience can he distill a rationale for life which is fully acceptable to himself and to his own society?

These are just a few of the problems that rose up to plague us that first year.

By the winter of 1962, we could answer some of the questions. With the Volunteers overseas in greater numbers, we began to receive excellent and perceptive letters. They were one source of detailed information on what happens to a Peace Corps Volunteer when he goes overseas to confront an alien social climate. Reading the mail, we found many insights on how a Volunteer makes his own structure and carries out his task.

> February 21, 1962, Hinigaron, Negros Acc. #4, Philippines. Edmie has begun making rounds once a week with the rural health doctor. I plan to accompany the mid-wife on her rounds. Judy has been doing some experimenting with native materials and handicrafts. Edmie has built a chicken coop, and has begun raising chickens. I am also planning adult education classes for next week.
>
> In school, I've been concentrating mostly on teaching English in grades three through six. I've been teaching several American folk dances for Community Day . . . and plan to have a rhythm band started next week. We'll use native materials like shells, bamboo sticks, seed, etc., to make rhythm instruments. Three times each week I conduct a class for the teachers on teaching English as a foreign language.[4]

Peace Corps training was by no means out of the rough. It was still very undernourished; and the lines of feedback, the flow of information from overseas were still tenuous. We needed

many more facts for training. We had no job descriptions, nor any accurate data on Volunteer placement and host country resources. A way was yet to be found which would provide for a continuous information flow, not just a trickle.

WORKING WITH THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY

Peace Corps training goals are to establish programs designed to realize the larger potentialities of the Peace Corps. In turn, realization of these potentialities can expand the international dimensions of America's liberal and professional education.

Dr. Milton Katz, of Harvard University, had helped the Division of University Relations and Training to know itself.[5] In April 1964, at a conference held at Wingspread, the Johnson Foundation's retreat at Racine, Wis., Dr. Katz was an eloquent participant.[6] He pointed out to the Peace Corps training leadership and other invited educators that we must begin training with a double aspect—a Peace Corps aspect and a university aspect.

For the Peace Corps Volunteers, more effective preparation is essential. This must include both training in specific skills for technical assistance and training to capture the essence of the cross-cultural experience. Such broadened education could foster better understanding of the subtle aspects of the Volunteers' contributions to the evolution of attitudes and practices conducive to the economic and social development of the host country. Again, this would be a two-way development promoting the inner growth of the Volunteer and appreciation of his surroundings.

This specialized training would enrich the Volunteer's ability to immerse himself in the developing society, whereas previously he had been only an interested bystander. Later, it would enable him to re-enter his own society more effectively.

The university aspect must be directed toward improving the content and methods of unversity education and training young men and women for public service.

To this end, Professor Katz urged universities to improve their content and method of teaching and research in foreign and international studies. We can readily understand this as a corollary, for while not a direct factor bearing upon the Peace Corps, its indirect effect on the substance of Peace Corps training courses would be incalculable. "Let's enrich liberal education by incorporating critical elements of the Peace Corps idea," Katz proposed. "A student should sense that his education contains a relationship to a public service mission; that he is learning specific skills to function as a skilled person on a public service mission. He should delve deeply into a study of Asian, African or Latin American societies and cultures as well as international relations, not out of a superficial sense of 'boy scoutism,' but for the light they may shed upon the nature of man and human society."

Katz and other educator philosophers tell us something we should recognize as truly significant—that the remarkable contribution of the Peace Corps to education is its concept of training for overseas personnel. It is education of Americans for a new style of service. We are pacesetters in education, and accepted or rejected, our thesis is news.

Those educators who accepted Peace Corps training as expanded education look to the university community and the Peace Corps to develop models integrated into the mainstream of the university, and tied to the responsibility of educating men and women for the public service. This development could take Peace Corps training out of its periodic struggles, the regimentation which had afflicted the training components, and its seeming lack of continuity from program to program and campus to campus.

The Peace Corps leaders understood the meaning of this dialogue. The academic world wanted some changes made. So did the Peace Corps, and agreement precedes progress.

This confrontation gave the Peace Corps an opportunity to move ahead into university areas once considered sacrosanct. When university leaders counseled, "broaden the base of training," we would do so; but the universities had to be willing to lose some of their ivy too in the process. And effecting a change on a university campus, no matter who has made the suggestion, can sometimes be as slow as changing a developing nation.

The University of Wisconsin and the University of Hawaiii were the first to take strong positions in the cause of enrichment. These two universities initiated a new look in education for the Peace Corps. In a proposal to the agency they outlined specific steps for applying the full range of university resources to educate young men and women for international activities. The proposal spelled out these recommendations:

(1) Develop new courses, graduate and undergraduate, better to prepare Americans to serve overseas;

(2) Establish a new graduate degree in international service;

(3) Offer summer-study service internships in domestic social problem areas;

(4) Promote research designed to explore the problem areas of international service;

(5) Provide special educational opportunities and academic credit for Peace Corps Volunteers who have successfully completed their service.[7]

Wisconsin and Hawaii struck a progressive and responsible note in university-government relations. The significance of their proposal was underlined by the response of other universities who have come forth with similar programs. The University of Washington in Seattle, the University of California at Los Angeles, Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, to name a few, have expanded their entire point of view on Peace Corps training.

Universities performing Peace Corps training have adjusted on a sliding scale of ingenuity, from outright remodeling of training programs, redefining curricula and subject matter, to incorporating Peace Corps training into major academic curricula.

In the Western Michigan plan, a five-year A.B. program enables a potential Peace Corps Volunteer to attend Western Michigan, study for two years, go overseas as a Peace Corps Volunteer for two years and then return to the University for another year of evaluation and completion of studies. At the end of the fifth year he will receive his A.B. degree which includes academic credit for his Peace Corps training program. Western Michigan is the first American university to inaugurate the combination of Peace Corps service with undergraduate academic preparation.

CUSTOM-MADE TRAINING

Training Volunteers to work in a developing nation is a delicate operation. Developing nations differ from each other in economic growth, political orientation, language, history, and geography, very much as developed nations differ from each other. Each developing nation is anxious to achieve twentieth centurey political, social, and economic parity. Outside assistance, both financial and technological, is important. Yet, in many nations surveys to determine where to apply assistance have yet to be made and development plans may still be on the drawing boards.

The Peace Corps understood that program requests from these nations were not directly related to the laws of supply and demand. The Division of Training was aware that a program which required one form of specific training could vanish overnight to be replaced by another with quite different emphasis. Advance preparation for training programs was considered folly by some, for by the time we got down to the starting wire we could be faced with a whole new set of circumstances.

Suppose at the last minute Country X decides that architects are not useful that year because its treasury has failed to provide money for the contempated housing project. Road building was substituted. What does the Peace Corps do? Train the architects we recruited to be road builders? Forget the whole thing? Look for another country? Or add road builders to the architects and hope that by the time training was over money would be forthcoming? We caused no end of consternation at university training sites with on-again off-again programs like these, but by and large the university community went along with us during this critical period.

Today we can custom-make a training program to cover a variety of skills and languages. Our field information is substantial and to a large extent, fairly accurate and timely. And the staff, like the heroes of "Dragnet" always hunting for the facts, can question representatives in at least 47 different Peace Corps countries overseas for more specifics. The Peace Corps representative—the man in charge in each country—has the job of providing hard answers: he must provide books, newspapers, and broad guidelines for the whole program, along with descriptions of the life of the country.

We have devised forms for the Peace Corps representative to complete in such intimate detail that we can almost simulate a whole project from the answers he gives us.[8] We have learned, for example, what tribes live in Sierra Leone; who are the chiefs; what language is spoken; we have a day-by-day report on village life in that tribe. We know what schools are like in Gabon—dimensions, structure, windows, and furniture. We know what kinds of

examinations youngsters take in the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and Ethiopia. We know the design of the X-ray machines in Malayan hospitals and the kinds of road building machinery available in Ethiopia and Tanzania. And we have community development site surveys recorded by Volunteers living and working right on the spot.

We have managed then to conquer many of the material aspects of training. Have we lost some of the imagination, some of the adventure and spice of new discoveries by the Volunteers? Is it more exciting for the Volunteer to arrive at his school and determine for himself what the curriculum is and what books are used?

One of the training officers philosophized: "We have the reinforcements we needed so badly, but do they make for better training?" Because we have books, do we also have sensitivity? Because we have school blueprints, do we know how to make friends without indoctrinating people? How do you train for intangibles?

Perhaps in community development preparation we have found some answers. Using the tools he is given in a training program, a Volunteer can go into a community, search for the seat of power, set his antennae for reaction, sit back and wait for acceptance. Once he has identified who runs what in a community, he can activate the power structure. Through this motivating "agent," it is possible that the community will begin to determine and articulate its own needs.

In the past, faced with a community to serve, nine times out of ten the Volunteer exhibited what we came to call "the outhouse syndrome." This may sound like a joke, but it came in an anthropologist's account of an influence of his own. He had worked hard to explain the elements of community action and interaction to a group of Volunteers bound for Latin America, outlining plans for determining the needs of a community and put them into action, not by the Volunteer's leading the community, but by the community understanding the purpose and thus developing self-propulsion. He followed this group of trainees to their assignment overseas and this is what he found:

> A Volunteer arrived at his village, saw a host national run out to the field, squat down and relieve himself. The Volunteer ran after him, seized the unsuspecting villager by the arm and shouted 'what you need is a latrine.' In perfect Spanish, of course. There went the training. And there began the first signs of the latrine syndrome.

What have we done to erase the syndrome? To make the American react less like an American? The Peace Corps

Regional Director for Latin America, Frank Mankiewicz, the former Peace Corps representative in Peru, sees the role of the community organizers developed in this way:[9]

> [They] must be trained to observe, to notice, to write down what they see and to compile and to draw conclusions from the information they have. They've got to be able to spend their first three or four months finding out where they are and who their neighbors are, and what is going on here. Who are all these people, where did they come from, and what do they want? Who has the power? Who is the mayor? How did he get to be the mayor? Is he really the chief of this community? Who is the school teacher and where does he come from and is this assignment as teacher in this village a demotion or promotion? Where was he before? If he had a good city post and now he has a slum post, he's going to be resentful. Why did he get demoted?
>
> Who runs the bar? . . . There are a million questions to be asked, questions which the people in this country don't ask about their own communities.

The implications here are enormous for all kinds of training programs. We rarely ask within our own communities who owns the newspaper; what is its circulation; who reads it, or what do people talk about? Nor do we look for class percentages, or racial tensions, or what's involved in the town power structure. Nor do we seek to identify the animosities in "Our Town."

Mankiewicz says "these are things without which you cannot do community development." And this applies across the board, in the United States and in the developing world.

A Peace Corps Volunteer has to be trained to do this, we discovered in the long, unfolding process of training for community action. "He's got to have the courage to knock on doors and talk. He's got to have the stomach to sit in a bar and listen and eat the food, and when he's through he has to write it down and pull it together. The key to this stage of community development," Mankiewicz explains, "is social investigation."

We talk about the "latrine syndrome" because so often the Latin Americans describe their needs in terms they think the "Yankee" wants to hear. So they say "We want running water, preferably hot, running water so that we can bathe every day." This is a very satisfactory response to American ears and brings about American appreciation. Then, if they think the American is a little more serious and perhaps a little more understanding, they say they need a school, because everybody knows that a school is a good thing to need. If the influence of

the "padre" is strong, maybe the people will say they need a new church, or repairs for the old church.

But when a community development Volunteer gets talking to them enough and gains their confidence, most of them, Mankiewicz believes, will tell him that "what they want is nothing more-nor-less than justice." This may be an idealized goal, but at that point the Volunteer may have made some kind of breakthrough because now they are talking about real needs. And the Volunteer's response becomes, with insightful preparation, that of an American tuned to Latin American aspirations.

We have learned from the community development developers that change is not effected rapidly in non-technological societies. It is introduced one drop of tea at a time—as the Volunteer in Pakistan learned when he tried to negotiate community development plans with the village leader; it took countless formal tea drinking rites to gain acceptance. Society is no pressure cooker.

CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH

One important lesson we learned in four years of Peace Corps training is that emphasis must be placed on training that puts Americans into slow motion. We have to de-activate the action-orientated American, turn him into a slower mover who accepts the habits of other, different people. Tolerance is an applicable concept in any part of the world.

We know that it is not enough to put a Volunteer into an academic oven and wait for a fully trained young man or woman to pop out, ready with liquid and mellifluous phrases to face a job overseas. In this area we have been put to the test on the subject of our American chracteristics. "Once an Americam, always an American" is a phrase often tossed at kind, well-meaning people, who, in spite of themselves, react in barely disguised horror at the evidences of privation and hardship they witness overseas. Many Americans are astonished to discover that not everybody shares the high priority we put on plumbing, electricity, and other comforts of Western living. With appropriate training, Americans may come to believe that priorities other than our own have validity.

To develop honest communication and a base for friendship between people of diverse cultures, there must be some self-analysis, some coming to terms with the whys and wherefores of, American attitudes. We attempt to do this in this year's training programs.

We chose the area of cross-cultural studies as a take-off point. We had had great success with cross-cultural seminars at Dartmouth College, in the summer of 1964, from August through November of 1965, we had an opportunity to witness at first-hand a training program conducted at Peace Corps headquarters building in Washington. We were given a front row seat, as well as control, over the training of 46 Volunteer secretaries who were destined to serve in 15 countries around the world. These secretaries would be assigned to Peace Corps administrative offices in host nations where they would function in a secretarial capacities. Beside routine office work, they would also have the Volunteer commitment outside the office (which all Volunteers, who work in and out of structured jobs, are expected to have). They would be Volunteers 24 hours a day, not on a nine to five schedule.

These women ranged in age from 19 to 68; one had a college degree, others were high school graduates with strong practical experience, and several were fresh from secretarial school. As a group they were open, candid, relatively unsophisticated, and eager to immerse themselves in their role as Volunteers.

The secretaries were housed together at a nearby hotel. Their classes were conducted in the Peace Corps building and in other assigned space. They were shot full of anti-serums; their abilities were assessed; their skills were topped off with explanations of government forms and government office procedures. The program co-ordinators came from a group of Washington, D.C., universities which provided faculty, resources, and staff support. The project director was a member of the Peace Corps training staff, and the impetus for the program came from the Special Projects area of the Training Division.

Highlighting the training program, cross-cultural studies provided a unique approach to integrating American studies, current world events, political movements, area studies, cultural idiosyncrasies, technical skills, and all the other paraphernalia of Peace Corps training. The objective was to "prepare the Volunteer secretaries to serve effectively as representatives of their own culture and as sensitive participants in the culture of the country to which they were going."[10]

To accomplish this goal, Paul V. Delker, Deputy Director for Special Projects, set about creating ways in which the trainees' cultural understandings would be sharpened. Together with Miss Juliane Heyman of Catholic University, the co-ordinator; Dr. Jasper Ingersoll, Professor of Anthropology at that university, Dr. Edward C. Stewart, psychologist on the staff of the Human Resources Research Institute of George Washington University, area specialists, returned Volunteers, and other Peace Corps staff members, Mr. Delker devised a program which would make the trainees more aware of themselves and their own society. "We felt that by understanding their own American attitudes," Delker said "the secretaries could then gain greater understanding of the attitude and behavior of non-Westerners."

A framework reflecting comparative assumptions and values, was designed to serve as the basis for these studies.[11] Delker and his associates conceived the components of the studies in terms of dimensions rather than categories. He said:

"They are really components of any cultural pattern, and fall into four areas." (1) Form of activity - for Americans this means action, or decision making. (2) Form of social relations or relations with others—for Americans this means friendliness and informality. (3) Perception of the self—for Americans this means that each person has his own separate identity which should be recognized and stressed. (4) Perception of the world—for Americans this usually means the American self, as a distinct entity and as a vantage point from which to view the world, implying a clear separation between man and nature."

Delker sees this framework as an interlacing design in which each of these dimensions is brought to bear upon the others through a series of active and passive techniques: lectures, group discussions, panel discussions, seminars, films, slides, and role-playing situations.

Once a week lecture-discussions conducted by Dr. Stewart focused on various aspects of middle-class American life. The secretaries were exposed to concepts that made what they learned relevant to inter-personal behavior between Americans (themselves) and non-Westerners. The concepts used in analyzing American behavior were placed within the four dimensions allowing for the accomodation of cultural variations within our own behavior patterns.

Next, the Volunteers were furnished with examples from those non-Western cultures to contrast with their own cultural practices. These examples were chosen to illustrate non-Western cultures, using the same concepts and dimensions in which American culture had been previously described.

American values and assumptions, world affairs, and Communism were handled in the same comparative framework; these formal presentations were followed by small discussion groups in which the secretaries were divided geographically to cover the five world areas or countries where they would be working—East Africa, West Africa, Far East, India, Afghanistan, and Iran. And in each case the discussion leader was a former Volunteer from that region or country. The objectives of the discussions at this level were to clarify the content of the lecture sessions and especially to expose and identify the trainees attitudes and feelings as they related to the material of the previous lectures.

Another essential feature of the cross-cultural techniques was a series of weekly role-playing exercises which Delker describes as providing the trainees with a comparative cultural perspective and with active situations in which they could learn to modify their behavior. An example of one series of materials used in a role playing exercise is given in the appendix. The exercise involves a Peace Corps secretary and a school head in a host country trying to solve a problem created by a teacher.

This introductory material for the role play exercise shows how closely the values here revealed are related to the value dimensions incorporated into our comparative value framework. Playing out the roles the trainees were able to see typical differences between American and non-Western cultures. They worked at detecting these differences and then discussed them, relating them to their study of the comparative value framework.

One of the goals of role playing was to create a learning situation in which the trainees could try to apply their knowledge by

projecting themselves into a contrived social situation. The trainees then stepped out of their roles to discuss their efforts. Although the role plays were written from the experiences of returned Volunteers, the point was not simply to strive for "authentic" presentations or slices of life, but rather to have trainees see their own reactions to situations which were typical of those they would encounter later. Role playing was, in reality, a form of situation-learning. Delker tried to establish conditions under which learning and changes in behavior could take place. And in doing so the staff, too, became aware of certain necessities—conditions which were essential in order to maintain a learning environment.

The staff reported that trainees must have repeated opportunities to expose their thoughts and feelings about behavior in different cultures. Trainees must receive feedback from other trainees and from group discussion leaders on the adequacy and effectiveness of their performance and feelings. Discussion leaders and trainees must maintain a supportive atmosphere in which each trainee can explore the limits and inadequacies of her responses. Discussion leaders must encourage trainees in tentative, exploratory, experimental, alternative behavior, toward acquiring more versatile, adaptive ones.

Of course, it wasn't all lights and Broadway. During the course of the program, the trainees received solid facts about their host countries. Area studies experts in Washington and at Peace Corps headquarters gave highly personalized lectures from their own experiences. A reading program provided the basic information for study and discussion. Panels composed of returned Volunteers were organized to present information on the details of overseas life. Slides and films were shown to present the flavor of everyday living in the host countries. Resource persons were invited to participate in the small group discussions and the role plays. Trainees were instructed to interview Peace Corps staff, returned Volunteers, host country nationals, Embassy staffs, and government officials.

And the trainees each had 250 hours of intensive language training in the language of their respective host country.

The cross-cultural studies component of the Secretarial Training Program was one of several in which similar methods were used. At Utah State University, in a training program for Iran this past summer, an "awareness" study was instituted to help Volunteers understand themselves, their society, and their capacity for self-development overseas. By the summer of 1966, many of our training institutions will be following a similar format, tailored to meet their specific needs.

Social behavior is a crucial part of a Volunteer's day-to-day living overseas. This is the lesson the Division of University

Relations and Training has learned. A Volunteer can negate all his accomplishments by his failure to recognize a host country custom. He can lose many months of painfully-achieved acceptance if he ignores or cannot cope with the mores of his host peoples. He can also alienate the community by over-emphasizing his American or Western culture.

For cross-cultural studies, we developed also case study materials, based on experience of Volunteers in the field.

The Volunteer in the field unknowingly is a scientific laboratory. While he teaches in a classroom, a scientist may be measuring his performance; a social psychologist may be examining his behavior; an educator may be evaluating his classwork; a host national may be his co-teacher accumulating teaching techniques on-the-job. And his students are watching him to see if he "goofs" or makes the grade.

All of this does not necessarily take place within the four walls of his classroom. Much of it is delivered to the Peace Corps in questionnaire form and is analyzed by researchers on the Peace Corps staff. We draw information and details from the Volunteers to provide us with raw statistics on many unseemingly unrelated subjects.

These statistics often are turned into training materials. The American Institutes of Research, based in Washington, has designed for our use a series of case studies which define for the trainee a selected number of critical incidents he could meet on his assignment. These studies help indicate for the trainee a solution or the barest hint of a solution which could help him over rough situations.

They are composites of critical incidents in which unidentified Volunteers were actually involved during their two years of service. The incidents were pulled from questionnaires submitted to Volunteers at their termination conferences, meetings which assist the Volunteer to evaluate his work overseas and to guide him toward re-entry to his homeland. These incidents were digested by research's awesome equipment into a simple, readable, and usable end-product.

There are now three such volumes accompanied by discussion leader manuals. The community development series, "Profiles in Persistence," Case Studies For Latin America, were tested at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, in the fall of 1964. The West Africa series, "Who Dares To Bring?" were tested at Columbia University Teachers College and Syracuse University, simultaneously. And the third, "In a Crowd's View," India rural development case studies, came into being in the summer of 1965 and had immediate appeal at Near East/South Asia programs in training.

The Far East will be covered in a forthcoming separate series as soon as enough data is collected.

Each case study in the Latin American series is divided into 12 problems and sub-problems. Although they form a continuous story, they are meant to be read and discussed one by one with particular emphasis given to the questions raised for each problem by the discussion leader. The trainee is requested not to read beyond the particular problem under discussion, since knowledge of the outcome of a situation may make it more difficult for him to examine alternative possibilities. A trainee will often be confronted with this kind of search for alternatives overseas.

As the discussion progresses, the trainee may find that there are few firm answers to the questions being raised. It is not the purpose of either the case study or the discussion leader to tell the trainee how to handle the problem. There is no right answer. How the trainee handles the situation depends upon his own beliefs, values, and interpretations. What we hope, however, is that the experience of discussing the case study will help the trainee become more aware of some of the circumstances which await him and will indicate some of the considerations his predecessor found important in shaping the Peace Corps Volunteer role. Appendix B presents a case study typical of the materials so developed. Other case material covers for the Volunteer every aspect of his community responsibilities. As the trainees review the problems and discuss possible solutions they begin to realize the many ways in which they can interpret the behavior of other peoples and the many ways in which they can respond to this behavior.

The emphasis on research, both Peace Corps-sponsored and university-sponsored is an important tool for training. It gives us another way to teach Americans skillful self-reliance overseas.

INTENSIVE LANGUAGE TRAINING

When the Peace Corps first opened its doors, it was agreeed that the Volunteers should learn as much of their host country's language as they could absorb in 10-12 weeks of quick training.. How to teach and what to teach were the next important areas tco be decided.

Universities are versed in the traditional approach to language study. The Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, in Washington preaches intensive language study using the audiolingual method. When the first Volunteers arrived overseas, clad in their training, good intentions and shining armor of mighty deeds, they discovered that more language for better communication was urgent. The amount of language training which they had was obviously insufficient.

Slowly, we have erased the faults of the past and today we have become one of the biggest teachers of foreign languages im the United States. During the summer of 1964 approximately 6,000 Peace Corps Volunteers were given language instruction—a considerable contribution to America's language resources. The summer of 1965 we trained nearly 7,000 Peace Corps Volunteers in 43 different languages. Between 1961-1965 we have taught 57 languages. Since the beginning, 40,000 Peace Corps Volunteers have studied the language of their host country improving the communication between Volunteer and host national co-workers.

Peace Corps training programs now devote more than half of the instructional time to intensive language instruction. During the ten or twelve-week training program, 300 hours or more are often spent on language. Small classes of seven or eight students meet from four to six hours a day with additional time spent in the language laboratory for reinforcement purposes. Language tables during meal times and conversational groupings with language informants, returned Volunteers, and interested foreign students also encourage language facility.

In short, Peace Corps trainees are surrounded by language. The training program has now developed what is called the "immersion environment" in which the language and culture of the host country are brought into the daily living and learning hours of the trainee.

Over the last four years we have accomplished these goals in language instruction:

(1) Across the board intensive language programs.

(2) Increased intensive instruction in "exotic" languages.

(3) Development of the teaching of two languages in training programs.

(4) Adoption of a proficiency language testing program.

(5) An increase in the number of Volunteers with useful fluency in such "hard" languages as Nepali, Hausa, Swahili, and Afghanistan Farsi.

Peace Corps training has adopted the modern audio-lingual method of language teaching. The emphasis is on learning to speak the language, rather than literacy skills. The approach to "what is language is through structural linguistics," says Allan Kulakow, the Peace Corps' language specialist, who handles most of the major policy changes.[12] The essence of structural linguistics is understanding the structural elements of the language as it is spoken rather than in an idealized literary form. The latter is what English teachers call grammar. Grammatical descriptions of language often confuse the written and the spoken languages. "A structural approach deals only with the spoken language. This approach in no way depreciates the literacy skills," he says. "It merely separates the tasks, facilitates the learning of reading and writing, and serves the Peace Corps Volunteers' needs to have an oral command of the language."

One of the best stimuli to the successful learning of a language is the "immersion environment," Kulakow believes. "Here, every effort is made to make the target language the only important and meaningful language for communication. Sometimes the trainees are asked to sign pledges not to speak English, or they are required to speak only the target language at meals. But more effective is the simulation of the cultural environment of the country."

The Nepali House, which was created at training sites for Nepal during the past year, extended language training beyond the classroom and language tables. It brought language learning into every aspect of training and living at the training site. It was an adventure in language learning conducted for the most part in the target language. A simulated Nepali house with all the trimmings—Nepali food, utensils, furniture, customs, and traditions—became the residence of the trainees. They spent many of their language learning hours with native instructors, attempting to live, talk, and think in the native language. In one case the Volunteers wanted to provide as real an atmosphere as possible and had cow dung brought in and spread on the floor in true Nepali fashion.

At another college, where language preparation was in French, the language co-ordinator provided the trainees with French books, newspapers and magazines, plays and films.

The trainees worked systematically at making French the only language of communication. The results were described by the language co-ordinator: "I would never have believed it possible for students to make such progress in such a short time."

The Peace Corps has adopted a proficiency rating scale for language achievement based on a realistic evaluation of what the training can do with the language. Our measuring rod is based on an S (for speaking) scale that goes from S-0 to S-5 with plus (+) grades to allow for finer judgments. An S-2 is considered a minimal working proficiency and an S-3 is labelled "professional proficiency." A Peace Corps agricultural aide could function well with only an S-2 rating, but a secondary level teacher might well have considerable difficulty teaching content subjects with less than an S-3.

This system has helped to remove the subjective assessment of oral language proficiency. We are interested in what the trainee can say and how well he can say it in the new language. The S-rating system also serves as a stimulus to language directors to improve their programs. Achieving S-2's in one program will stimulate them to produce S-3's in the next program.

Good classroom instruction, coupled with the immersion technique, has produced language proficiency with one or more points higher on the S-scale than non-immersion programs.[13] Our field training in Puerto Rico and French-speaking Canada, combined with continued language training in the field, has paid off handsomely with significant increases in language proficiency. Scores approximately one-half to one point higher on the S-scale are recorded after three weeks of a field training program.

Machine learning has been introduced into the language classroom with the use of the language laboratory. University language laboratories ranging from multi-position units to "the audio notebook" are successful complements to an intensive language program. Effective programming accelerates classroom work by providing extra practice time. The machine cannot give a human, personalized attention to the student's problems, but its value as a reinforcement cannot be underestimated.

Multi-lingual training programs have been successfully developed for countries where two languages are necessary for effective Peace Corps service. A knowledge of both could enable a Volunteer to communicate on many levels—with officials and with the villagers, many of whom cannot speak French, Spanish, or the formal language of the country. During the summer of 1964, for example, at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, we taught French and Wolof to Volunteers destined for Senegal, and French and Hausa for those going to Niger. We set minimum

levels of proficiency for the first language; when this level was achieved, the second language was introduced. In a few cases, training in the first language continued concurrently.

This is not to suggest that two languages can be learned to an equal degree of fluency. To promote proficiency in a second language, a realistic statement of what is the minimal level required for the first will guide the programming of the second.

Such programming continued during the summer of 1965 on a wider basis, with more sophisticated language materials. As a result of our early trials, we discovered that language materials for the many languages spoken, in other parts of the world had yet to be developed. For the double-header language exposure, elementary materials in Wolof were used, but for successful language achievement, new materials were essential. The development of language materials by other Government agencies and by well-known linguists at American universities and abroad and by Peace Corps staff members in the field has been encouraged.

Major texts developed during the past year include:

Afghanistan Farsi by David Burns of the Experiment in International Living, Putney, Vt.

Nepali by Randolph Carr, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Chinyanja by Dr. Earl Stevick, Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, Washington, D.C. (Chinyanja is spoken in Malawi).

Oral Brazilian Portuguese by Dr. Henry W. Hoge, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wis.

Tunisian Arabic by Hachemi Saada, Peace Corps/Tunisia.

Somali by Dr. Joseph Pia and staff, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Mich.

The linguistic staffs at the University of Hawaii, Hilo, and Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Ill., have produced a number of valuable texts and tapes in Malay, the Philippine languages, Gujerati (for India), and Indonesian.

For this summer's training input the Peace Corps assisted in the preparation of materials for a baker's dozen of new languages, and the improvement of other materials came from Tunisia. Work in Tumbuku for Malawi and Wolof and Djerma for French-speaking Africa represent a major accomplishment in the development of language materials for those African nations.

Preliminary materials in Bassa, spoken in the Camerons; Susu for Guinea, and Ewe for Togo were prepared by Dr. John Rassias, language co-ordinator of the Dartmouth College program; Boulé, spoken in the Ivory Coast, was prepared by Miss Harriet Cook, the Contractor's Overseas Representative for Oberlin College; Dr. Richard Williams, the language co-ordinator at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., wrote Ibo materials for the groups in training there. Columbia University Teachers College has begun to revise materials for Yoruba, a Nigerian language, and Dr. Wolf Leslau, University of California at Los Angeles, has just published new Amharic texts (for Ethiopia) for the Peace Corps.

Many other language co-ordinators and language specialists have contributed to this vital thrust in language development. The Peace Corps owes much to these specialists who have added immeasurably to this nation's foreign language resources. But the surge in language development is just at the take-off point in the Peace Corps. For Volunteers to be effective on every level of the society in which they work, they must know the major language spoken as well as area or regional languages. Our continuing efforts represents a vast superiority over early programs. More texts, tapes, and dialogues are in preparation for language learning in the classroom and for continued language learning process.

The Peace Corps' promotion of language study has had a solid impact on an allied field—teaching English as a foreign language. In the past, many Peace Corps Volunteers teaching English as a foreign language had no formal instruction in teaching methodology before coming to the Peace Corps. Most were liberal arts graduates who had general skills and were placed in TEFL programs in the belief that any native speaker of English could teach English. This myth has been quietly erased.

Dr. Marie C. Gadsden, former TEFL specialist in the Division of University Relations and Training, worked with the Peace Corps TEFL co-ordinators at training sites to improve this segment of our technical skill instruction.[14] Through her diligence, TEFL instructors in Peace Corps training programs now plan this component, basing their programs on the fact that host country English study requires a practical "blend of modern linguistic data" and the traditional materials and techniques approved by many ministry of education officials and local school authorities.

Dr. Gadsden served as the guiding force in explaining that the most effective method of teaching TEFL teachers coupled foreign language learning with the principles of teaching English as a foreign language; her method is now an accepted fact. Learning to teach English as a foreign language supports the learning of an alien language by the Volunteer. They are

complimentary and inclusive. The total approach is the key concept, she taught. Once the Volunteer understands the relationship, mastery of TEFL techniques and a new language come more easily.

By September 1965, 2,890 Peace Corps Volunteers were teaching English as a foreign or second language in their job assignments. The grand totals in all phases of TEFL instruction are: 80 in university education; 1,852 in secondary education English teachers; 58 in elementary education (as English teachers); 25 in miscellaneous education programs with Peace Corps English teachers; and 75 in non-education programs with Peace Corps English teachers (adult education, community development, etc.). In addition, 712 Volunteer elementary teachers teach English as a tool for mastery of elementary subjects, including English literature.

Our work in TEFL programs has probably made the Peace Corps one of the biggest exporters of English teachers in the world.

IN-HOUSE TRAINING

Three little words, as the old song goes. These three words have opened the door to experimentation in what the Peace Corps can do, by itself, to train Volunteers. Camp Radley and Camp Crozier in Puerto Rico were the ideal location for a pilot program which would tell us whether or not we could practice what we preached.

We began in February 1964 with the first steps, dismantling the "outward bound" program in one of the camps, transforming it into a laboratory school. Richard Hopkins, an experienced Peace Corps training officer, was named project director with the authority to hire a staff, draw his lecturers and discussion leaders from our own Washington staff experts, develop a language program under contract, and build into the training program the field experience which was all of Puerto Rico.

A community action project for the Dominican Republic seemed the right size and type to use as a starter.[15] Volunteers weighed in at Philadelphia and took off for San Juan. There they were met, loaded into trucks and delivered to Camp Crozier at Arecibo, Puerto Rico. Hopkins had laid out a program which incorporated the essence of all we had learned by then about training.

A course in American affairs was taught by a Peace Corps staff man. The Peace Corps representative from the Dominican Republic came to the camp and brought first-hand knowledge of the job in the field. He worked side by side with the trainees, teaching them the technical skills they would need. Area studies, health orientation, and other aspects of training were handled by staff members, augmented by university faculty who co-ordinated the major components. Latin American experts came from their Peace Corps assignments in the field, from Washington, and from around the country to add their knowledge to the training program. We picked brains and experience to immerse the trainees in Latin American culture, history, language, and environment.

Currently, the entire staff, with the exception of the psychologists, language instructors, the camp director, etc., are all returned Volunteers. By summer of 1965 the Puerto Rico In-House Training Center will have its own language facility. Returned Volunteers aiming at careers in linguistics or as language specialists are now being recruited to teach Spanish at the camps. Supervised by a professional linguist, also a former Volunteer, they will serve several important functions; as language teachers per se and as area informants, skill instructors, or area studies discussion leaders. Most of the work can then be done in the target language.

IN-HOUSE PROGRAMS TRAINED AT PUERTO RICO CAMPS	NO. OF TRAINEES
1. Dominican Republic RCA (Rural Community Action), February 1964.	42
2. Latin American Regional Arts and Crafts, October 1964.	58
3. Dominican Republic RCA, February 1965.	49
4. El Salvador RCA, February 1965.	48
5. Chile Urban Community Development, March 1965.	27
6. Venezuela Rural Co-operatives, June 1965.	51
7. Guatemala Resettlement, July 1965.	47
8. Dominican Republic RCA, June 1965.	34

In September, 1965, the Peace Corps opened another major "in-house" program for English-speaking West Africa, using a training site at St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands, West African languages, practice teaching, integrated American and area studies curricula, and a special health orientation designed to embrace the public health system in West Africa and the Caribbean are part of the over-all design. In this case, the programs are directed by a staff nearly all of whom are returned Volunteers.

The Virgin Islands Training Center staff considers that teaching and the skills and techniques which are involved in teaching must be understood as an activity which takes place within a certain culture. Dr. Joseph Murphy, Director of the Virgin Islands Training Center, says, "principal efforts in this regard are directed toward inducing an awareness in the trainee that a good teacher is one who knows more than simply the contents of textbooks and syllabi and is able to communicate these contents effectively to the students in his classroom. It rests upon the insistence that teaching and communication take place within a particular cultural ambiance, that effective teaching is contingent upon the recognition of a variety of factors which are themselves not simply part of a methodology or technique."[18]

In the Virgin Islands, teachers are being taught to be aware of the fact that the way in which the student looks at himself, at his mother and father, at his teacher, at his future, at his past, at his country, at the rest of the world, are all critical to determining what and how that student can be taught. To comprehend adequately the learning style of a Nigerian child, for example,

requires some intimate knowledge of the living style of that person. The place to determine the character, cultural idiosyncrasies, value system, and attitude formations toward learning, is not the classroom. It is the village or community from which this child emerges.

"The practice teaching situations for the most part take place in unfamiliar environments," Murphy reports. The American, British Virgin Islands and British West Indies constitute opportunities for our teachers to recognize that to teach effectively, one must know a great deal more about one's students than one can learn simply in the classroom. It requires that they know something about the structure of the community, its value system, the way in which the average Cruzian or British West Indies family looks at his child's participation in the educational system, about the expectations which the community has for the educational system which it sustains, about the realistic assessment of the opportunities available to someone who goes through the school system in a successful as opposed to unsuccessful fashion. Participation in community is not a separate function for the teacher, which takes place somehow away from, and independent of, his primary and principal function in the classroom."

Murphy's staff maintains that effective teaching is very much contingent upon the effective use to which the teacher's knowledge of the community is put in the classroom. "And, it is only when the Peace Corps teacher understands that the classroom is not an isolated, hot-house location, but is, in fact, interrelated with the community, that he comes to an understanding of the importance of community participation and community involvement, not as an end in itself, but a means to an end--namely, greater effectiveness as a Peace Corps Volunteer, generally, and greater effectiveness as a Peace Corps teacher in the classroom."

In short, there is no division between being a good teacher and being involved in the community. They are one and the same jobs. "The first cannot be effectively discharged if the second is voided." One recommendation which the Virgin Islands Training Center makes, as a result of its experience in training the West Cameroon group for community development with the Nigeria teachers' group, is that in the future teacher projects be trained along with community development projects whenever possible. The carry-over from the efforts made by the training staff in the preparation of community development persons cannot help but affect teachers.

We have discovered in the Virgin Islands that training the two different sorts of groups together has proved to be an advantage rather than a disadvantage for precisely this reason. Therefore, we believe that wherever possible community development

and teaching projects for a given country be combined in the Virgin Islands, rather than—as has been the case in the past—sent to different training sites.

The "in-house" experiment is avowedly a success, but still an experiment. The desire to see how well we could do at our own business has become a standard part of the training cycle.

Scheduling "in-house" programs for the future will be increasingly important. Future training sites for the Far East region, and the North Africa - Near East - South Asia regionare still to be found. The impetus toward "in-house" training is growing and could be contagious, but we are determined to keep the programs small and experimental so that we can guide and control the experiment while providing high-quality training Their small size will also help us assess the value of these programs and enable us to pass on lessons learned to university training centers. In addition, "in-house" training gives us the flexibility we need to continue researching training methods and to plan daring ventures in education which will ultimately benefit all Peace Corps trainees.

FIELD EXPERIENCE

Trainees get restless in a classroom. "O.K., so now we've had the lecture, or the discussion, or the seminar—we've had theory," Volunteers have told us. "We want to see if it works."

Field experience began in the Peace Corps when the Training Division realized that a Volunteer must be exposed to an atmosphere or environment outside the university training site which parallels as closely as possible what he will find overseas. If he is to teach, he should have some practic teaching before he takes off for his assignment. If he was to be a medical technician, even if he already had the degree, he should practice his skill in the language of his assignment. If men and women Volunteers were to be of practical use in the "barrios" of Latin America, they should have a taste of "barrio" living first.

Puerto Rico has become the test tube for our Latin American field training programs. We had early eastablished two camps, huddled together in the rain forest outside Arecibo. Camp Crozier and Camp Radley, named for the first Volunteers to die overseas, were the places where our Tarzans and Tarjanes went winging through the air, climbed mountains, scaled dam walls, and learned to strengthen their inner resources.[17] Here was potential we had not yet capitalized on.

Puerto Rico is Latin America in microcosm. We planned to put the Volunteer in the schools, in the city "barrios," in the department of health, in the CO-OP agency. They would have to speak Spanish to get along. They would be thrown on their own survival instincts. Give them a few dollars and turn them loose on the countryside—This was the thinking in Peace Corps training headquarters. But we went one step further, opened a field training office in San Juan in 1963 and began to do our own surveys on where the Volunteers could practice using the skills he would need to operate successfully in his future location.

Volunteers bound for Latin America, who have been in training at American universities, come to Puerto Rico for three to five weeks to put the final touches on these skills. Sponsored by their training institution, they are placed at work sites which have been screened by the San Juan office.

Some of the jobs are structured; others are not. Much depends on the type of project in which the Volunteer will serve overseas. The general pattern that is followed includes orientation of the Volunteers by representatives of the Puerto Rican agencies with which they will be working this orientation explains the philosophy as well as the techniques employed in the work of that agency, and the part it plays in the development of Puerto Rico.[18] The Volunteers are then divided into pairs or groups of five and six and leave for their field assignments all over the

island. Some find boarding houses to live in, others stay in homes, but all experience the hospitality, warmth, and dignity of the Puerto Rican people.

At the end of the field work, the groups return to a central point for reporting and evaluation, again with representatives of the agency present. It is this involvement by agency people with Peace Corps trainees and with their field work that has made the total experience particularly significant. It is a live cross-cultural contact for both Volunteers and supervisors.

The Government of Puerto Rico has been more than generous with its time and assistance. Trainees finally arriving at their destination remember with gratitude their practice-teaching in a small Puerto Rican classroom; or working in the school-community program; asking innumerable questions in the local "tienda," or at the City Hall, or of the policeman--while following the rules of community survey taught at the training center.

The Volunteers have made a profound impact upon the Puerto Rican population. How great an impact should be measured, for we do not wish to wear out the welcome mat on the doorstep of that gracious island.

Field training is now conducted in the Virgin Islands where Volunteers teach and perform community action jobs in West Indian communities. In French-speaking Canada Volunteers teach secondary school classes in French; and in Israel Volunteers see at close range the growth and impact of a co-operative system upon a developing nation. Even more promising are plans to take Volunteers overseas for longer periods of in-country field training extending beyond the training at Robert College, Istanbul, and at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, and in Latin America. This field training lasted four to six weeks. It is now planned for six to eight weeks. Our expectations are that such programs will cushion with experience the Volunteer's first halting steps.

The State of New Mexico has been the scene of much of our rural community action field work. Fanning out from Albuquerque, returned Volunteers hunt for appropriate sites where trainees can be placed for special field assignments. The returned Volunteers are somewhat like tutors, supervising the trainees on the job, helping them to analyze their work, prepare surveys, discover community power systems, and investigate with the community its problems and needs.

Under the direction of John Arango, a young community developer who had worked in Colombia as a Volunteer, the Peace Corps community development training sessions have a professional air. Arango has written several volumes on community

development techniques based on his own experience and on return visits to Latin America. His community development seminars in these training programs combine cross-disciplinary discussions with community development theory. Problem-solving and case studies are carefully interwoven into the program to give the trainee a grab bag full of resources with which to apply his skills.

One group recently spent two weeks scattered in the outer reaches of New Mexico, going through a field exercise surveying communities. The trainees became deeply involved in the life of their respective towns, and they were enraptured by the experience. Their typically American composure was shaken. What they saw and the conditions found gave them a somewhat different slant on the "great society." One trainee summed up his worry about his ability to be useful in Chile. "If I can transport my feelings of humility with me overseas, maybe I will have some degree of success."

Their attitude gained from this field training, reflected a deeper understanding of the tasks ahead.

In a different type of program, at San Jose State College where Volunteer math and science teachers were being trained for the Philippines, a special practice teaching field experience was arranged.[19] The Project Director, Dr. James Thornton, organized a special summer school at a site only ten minutes away from the campus. 400 youngsters from widely varying economic and social backgrounds attended. Teams of four or five trainees taught classes of 15 to 20 pupils, each team under the supervision of an experienced classroom teacher whose responsibility was to provide guidance in classroom techniques. The trainees did all the teaching.

A training staff member was assigned to each teaching group to provide constant guidance in actual teaching content; former Volunteers sat in. At the conclusion of each morning's three hours of classes, the trainees, the teachers, the staff supervisors and the former Volunteers conducted on-the spot 30-minute critiques of the teaching. This was followed, by further critiques on the handling of subject matter by the staff supervisors. Thus, there was a strong emphasis on both content and method.

San Jose's practice teaching ran two weeks, and individual trainees averaged five hours of teaching. They had had several weeks of theory before the classroom teaching, and they had the benefit of close, immediate, and uniform supervision and criticism throughout the two weeks of classroom exposure.

With training programs now expanded to 13 weeks, practice teaching experiences, community development surveys,

construction—all of field experience can be lengthened to give the trainees a greater feeling for the utilization of their particular skill. And this will give the Peace Corps a more effective Volunteer.

RETURNING VOLUNTEERS IN PEACE CORPS TRAINING

Returning Volunteers and foreign students on the campuses have added dramatic impact and depth to the individual training programs. At Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., in the summer of 1964, Peace Corps trainees were enrolled in an experimental program to train them as teachers of English in French African secondary schools. A new breed of trainees, these were college juniors and had completed these years of study. They were to go through part of a training program in the summer, return to the campuses to finish up their degrees, and complete their preparation as Volunteers during the second summer. Dartmouth had the first program in what has come to be called "Advanced Peace Corps Training."

The Dartmouth program was unique in many respects. The major innovation was its unusual use of a core curriculum in inter-related units of work and study and the employment of returned Volunteers from West Africa as discussions leaders.[20]

This program initiated the practice of putting returned Volunteers to work in training programs as integrated faculty members rather than as sideshow performers.

The syllabus, prepared by Dartmouth with the advice of a returned Volunteer, Roger Landrum (who had taught at Nsukka University in Nigeria) explicitly laid down the organizational framework. As the training officer for the program, Landrum planned that "African studies, World Affairs, Communism and American studies would be considered as an independent unit of ideas and issues the way a Volunteer would find them overseas." Every attempt was made to personally involve the trainees in these ideas and issues rather than presenting them with an impersonal set of facts. "Half of the discussion series," said Landrum, "involved a humanistic view of African culture, not based on Western interpretations, but on African cultural statements in literature, the arts, and the social sciences. The other half involved direct and candid discussion of the problems and possibilities of the alien working and living in West African society. We used the seminars as a direct attempt to get the trainees to come to terms with the culture in which they might live and work."

Former Volunteers and host country nationals, who also functioned as language informants (Native-speakers) were an invaluable source of knowledge about the host country and about what happens to the Volunteer exposed to a new environment.

When this approach was used in more programs, our knowledge of the Dartmouth program gave the Peace Corps a vantage point from which to evaluate experimental and imaginative types of training combined with substantive learning. In many program

we exploded the lecture myth and substituted a well planned discussion series with returned Volunteers leading off on the issues. And the eight original components of a Volunteer's training which the Peace Corps had developed early in its search for training guidelines, were finally formed into a unified whole, shaping for us a new educational dimension by which we could introduce Americans to their new role--that of Peace Corps Volunteer.

In subsequent months, universities engaged in training Peace Corps Volunteers moved to adopt former Volunteers as functional staffers. They lost their "bring 'em back alive" status and became full-fledge faculty members. At San Jose State College in California, 21 ex-Volunteers were effectively used in area studies courses on the Philippines. Following one-hour lecture presentations, the trainees broke up into discussion groups, each group led by a former Volunteer.[21] This approach enabled the lectures to be personalized and particularized for the trainees by means of the experiences of the ex-Volunteers. The material of the anthropologists came to life for the trainees.

But developing the effective use of returning Volunteers on the training site, was not automatic. Experienced discussion leaders are made, not born. And they are made by a period of careful preparation before their entrance into the training program. Returned Volunteers carry a wealth of information with them, but they must learn how to tap the lode in order to use the ore where it will do the most good.

The University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, in analyzing the vitality a Volunteer can give to a training program, worked out a method which would release reminiscences of in-country experiences and translate them into the ability to facilitate discussion about their experiences and Volunteer behavior in a positive manner. The University held a training program for these soon-to-be trainers, the former Volunteers; it was conducted at the Speech Communication Center under the direction of Dr. Frank E. X. Dance. The conference was designed to provide educational experiences which would equip returned Peace Corps Volunteers to be "facilitators of small discussion groups participated in by Peace Corps Trainees."[22]

Communication was the key to successful leadership. Originally this training was given only to those Volunteers employed at the Peace Corps Training Center at the University of Wisconsin. It was recognized from the success of the first unit that similar training plans for Volunteers working at other training sites would be extremely useful. During June 1965, three more conferences were held at Wisconsin to which project directors sent their returned Volunteer staff members.

Before describing the way in which this training was conducted, a word about selection of returned Volunteers to work at university training sites is in order. Returning Volunteers are evaluated by the overseas staff and recommended to Peace Corps/Washington for use at training institutions in specific programs. Peace Corps/Washington as a screening office to which Volunteers can apply for referencing and placement and to which overseas staff members send their recommendations. The Division of University Relations and Training shops at this office for nominations to project directors; and project directors, knowing Volunteers from earlier programs who are now returning from overseas, can request their own training officer to check the individual and determine his qualifications for a training program.

The Division of University Relations and Training not only influences the training institution in its selection of returned Volunteer staff members, but has actually been instrumental in developing a "cyclical education input." In this sytem, Volunteer A, trains at Institution X, goes overseas, accumulates an important sum of information, and is then referred to a training institution. There he can make a valuable contribution not only to the program but to the total area knowledge available at that university. This has happened in scores of programs where the university using returned Volunteers has offered them scholarships and fellowships and thus developed expertness in several fields of study.

At the University of Wisconsin this was especially true. Returned Volunteers were earning graduate degrees while teaching in Peace Corps programs. It was logical that training units for returned Volunteers would be useful to enhance their value as discussion leaders.

The conferences utilized the technique of telephone communication. Lecturers and moderators worked with the Volunteers in tele-lectures making it possible to bring outstanding authorities on group communication and group discussion to the seminar table. Following each tele-lecture, the group discussed theory and practice as they applied to the problems presented with the guest lecturers, Dr. Dance and his staff.

To understand better the purpose of the unit, the small-group discussions should also be mentioned, since the role of the Peace Corps Volunteer as a facilitator would be dictated to some extent by the goals of these groups. They have four aims: the integration of theory and behavior; the development of personal flexibility; the development of a quality of personal openness; and the development of increased tolerance of frustration.[23]

This was the outline of the syllabus; the "meat" came in the tele-lectures. A tele-lecture by Dr. Franklin S. Haiman,

Professor of Group Communication, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., "The Theory of Group Discussion." Dr. Haiman introduced the participants to the concept of small-group discussion and the theory underlying its use. Dr. Dance picked up the thread with a back-up lecture discussion, analyzing and extending the concepts and principles related to this theory. The participants were challenged to apply the material covered in Haiman's tele-lecture to their own past experiences and to take issue with and dispute the remarks made.

The next tele-lecture by Dr. John W. Keltner, Chairman, Department of Speech, Oregon State University, Corvallis, was on "The Goals of Group Discussion." The second staff back-up lecture-discussion reviewed case study construction and its use in Peace Corps Training Programs.

Other tele-lectures followed the same pattern, some of their subjects were "Problems and Solutions in Small Group Discussion," "Techniques for Small Group Discussion," and "The Role of the Peace Corps Volunteer in Peace Corps Training." Each lecture was followed by back-up discussions, and the conference ended with a summary, conclusions, and evaluation surveys.

Most of the Volunteers present found the conference clarifying and effective. As one Volunteer said: "I had taken the role of discussion leader but had no idea as to what my job was to be. Only experience provided this for me and this session makes it even more lucid."[24] Dr. Dance and the staff found that the training sessions met staff expectations on all dimensions and recommended that such a training unit be offered on a systematic basis, pending the findings drawn from a post-project assessment inventory, now in preparation.

A final comment made by a Volunteer participant is apropos: "Learned much"—he did, and we did too.

ADVANCE-TRAINING PROGRAMS

College students who enter Peace Corps Training at the end of their junior year of college are called "Advance Trainees." They are just as anxious to be a part of the Peace Corps as their august elders, college seniors. Their demands for "junior-year" programs were so insistent that in the winter of 1964 we saw the first steps taken to give juniors a taste of Peace Corps life. The Dartmouth French Africa program we discussed earlier was the pilot project. When the enrollment for that program leaped over the set limit, other training programs had to be devised. A project for English-speaking West Africa, another for elementary teachers in Liberia, and two for Latin America were outgrowths of the original plan.

Teachers for West Africa were sent to the University of California at Berkeley; the Liberia group attended San Francisco State College which has had an intensive Liberia program—its own and the Peace Corps—for several years. The Latin America projects were divided, with one group going to the Peace Corps "in-house" training site at Camp Radley in Puerto Rico and another to Yale University.

The trainees went through much of the regular routine prescribed for Peace Corps preparation with several differences. During the first summer, the language load was lighter, although intensive in method. Field experience was halved: one group one group visited the Spanish-speaking portion of Harlem; another worked in various Puerto Rican communities; and the Africa groups practiced language skills and community action techniques on weekends away from the university. Plans were made to carry training through into the senior scholastic year with the appointment of one academic adviser from each training institution as supervisor to his group. A continuation of the training was expected the second summer, either at the university or at another locale determined by the Training Division. Over the winter months the trainees boned up on language, studied about their future host countries in depth, attended conferences, and wrote reports on their Peace Corps-centered activities.

During the summer of 1965 the newly graduated seniors finished their training-field experience in large doses. The Dartmouth group taught in French at schools around Quebec and while teaching also studied the other languages of French-speaking West Africa. The Berkeley section went on to Morehouse College in Atlanta for special practice teaching and subject seminars prepared by Volunteers who had taught in Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone. The Puerto Rico trainees were sent to the community development classes of John Arango at the University of New Mexico and the "Yalees" took their turn at field work in Puerto Rico. Only the Liberia-bound teachers returned to the

original training ground, San Francisco State, stayed there for a refresher, and left early in the summer for their teaching posts.

The numbers of the original groups had dwindled. Attrition, marriage, transfer to other programs, the lure of graduate school, and even a lessening of the earlier commitment had taken many. Keeping in touch with future Volunteers during the school term was a difficult task. The lines of communication between these college seniors, their advisers, and the Peace Corps were fragile at best. An evaluation of the entire program struck home with the sad truth that although there was much good in the experiment, to save it from disaster we would have to support it strongly with ample funds, detailed planning, and constant communication.

This summer seven new programs were started, on firmer ground. The program for French Africa returned to Dartmouth; the Latin America projects had new hosts—Texas Technological College, Lubbock, and Notre Dame, South Bend, Ind., the University of Texas, Austin. The Liberia program also went to Dartmouth. The University of California at Los Angeles had its first group of advanced trainees for Ethiopia; a community development program for Turkey was housed at Portland State College, Portland, Ore.; and a Thailand TEFL project (teaching English as a foreign language) at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, completed the roster.

The first section of these new "advanced programs" is over. The trainees are students again, and during their senior year at college they will be involved in a multitude of activities based on their Peace Corps destinations. During the program planning sessions, each training institution outlined experience-based learning situations for its group; these were worked out during the school holiday recess. Northern Illinois also tested its TEFL teachers in the Thai language, which they have been studying from materials provided by the University.

Practice-teaching for the Liberia unit was conducted in a St. Louis Negro suburb, and the French-speaking Volunteers taught in New Orleans. The three Latin American groups worked in community action programs at home or near their campus. Cross-cultural housing accomodations were an important feature for the community developers.

We are assured by past experience and the greater involvement by the training institutions that we will be able successfully to enlist and preserve the interest and commitment of third-year students. Task-oriented projects, the innovations we plan for next summer, and the kinds of institutions we use for training may be the controlling factors.

A PROPOSAL FOR THE FUTURE

On March 1, 1961, Sargent Shriver presented the Peace Corps Report to President Kennedy. Expounding the thinking behind the formation of the Agency, the Report went on to say that:

> "It is time for American universities to become truly world universities. By involving universities on a large scale, thus expanding their teaching and research to the world, the Peace Corps would help with this transformation.
>
> "All this may combine to provide a substantial popular base for responsible American policies toward the world. And this is meeting the world's need, too, since what the world most needs from this country is better understanding of the world."

There is a direct connection between the words of this report and the theme of President Lyndon B. Johnson's speech at the Smithsonian Institute on September 16, 1963. In his talk, the President made clear that the war on poverty in the world depends upon adult or continuing education. The new program for world education must be education for development. Formal education—classroom education—is only a part of the requirements. For relevant education to be diffused among men and assimilated by them, a solid program of continuing adult education—formal and informal—must prevail.

Our concept of adult education, which begins with the training of Peace Corps Volunteers and continues with the Volunteer overseas, should have a more concrete target which will benefit all modern civilization. We look to the time when we can erect that target, which would be a distinctive departure in education. We would like to found a Peace Corps Institute where returned Volunteers, faculty, and trainees would become a part of a unified education-training system. A school to develop personnel for international service, similar to that proposed by Secretary John B. Gardner of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, could excite the imagination of any person fascinated by the endless varieties of preparation for living in a cross-cultural environment. Such an institution would lend itself to the most "way out" training schemes and the most practical. With all the necessary factors, curriculum and faculty, we could fashion a course of study which would be experimental, imaginative, and yet academic. The three are not mutually exclusive.

In the words of Sargent Shriver: "It is really a system that takes the experience of the Peace Corps abroad and applies it to America, using foreign students here (and returned Volunteers) as a prime resource. It is a system of two-way traffic between

America and the world—of two-way volunteering and service and learning.

Such an institute would give us the mobilization of resources that we need for diffusing human knowledge intelligently.

What we have done for the future is the culmination and yet the beginning of quality training for Peace Corps men and women. We have taken the best of our past efforts and tied them together with planning in depth to integrate concepts, content, and form. An institute for world development and education would have a fine base from which to carry out a program of continuing education.

The training we give a Peace Corps Volunteer today embodies a taste of that future, both heady and exhilarating; it makes his overseas service rewarding to him and to his host—the nation he will serve as a Peace Corps Volunteer.

"For each of you—and indeed, for this society—and all its great institutions of learning, that time has come to reach out into a new relationship with the world about us, to seek to recast our lives in the image of art, to make the leap forward into the unknown."

R. Sargent Shriver
Director, Peace Corps
St. John's University
Jamaica, New York
June 13, 1965

APPENDIX A

A ROLE PLAYING EXERCISE

The Secretary and the Head Of the Division of English Teaching

Peace Corps Volunteer Secretary Role

You are Patricia Gray, Secretary in the Peace Corps office in the city of _____. The Peace Corps Representative is currently touring some community development projects in remote hill provinces. He cannot be reached until his return in another two weeks. He left you in charge and told you to use your best judgment. Recently you read a report to the Representative from Nancy Gordon, a Peace Corps Volunteer seventh grade teacher in a small town about two hours from the capital. The parts of her report that concern you the most are the following:

"I do not know the cause of all our difficulties here, but some of them are quite clear. Considering the general conditions here, I don't see how I could have done much differently.

"The entire system of instruction is traditional. They rely upon rote memorization and parrot-like recitation. No student ever asks questions in class, not even to clarify what they do not understand. Teachers discipline students rigidly to do and think as they are told. I can see the traditional cultural background out of which this all came, but they cannot use people like my students to build the sort of independent, modern country they say they want.

"The children are so pitifully dependent on the teachers. After getting acquainted with them and with some of their parents, I began quietly and modestly trying to start a PTA where parents and teachers might discuss their problems and hopes even a little bit. I could not get any real interest from the parents. Later I learned that the parents thought that education should be up to the Head-master and the teachers. And the teachers were even more frightened of it. Only one or two finally admitted that they feared what the Head-master would say. The teachers insisted that the parents trusted the Head-master to run the school. I believe the parents are as afraid to speak up about school as their children are in school.

"My relations with the Head-master have been polite and cordial, but distant. He treats me as formally. I'm afraid it has not warmed up since that day in the local bank. I was waiting in line as I always do. People are supposed to wait in line, and everyone knows it. A sign written in all the languages spoken here asks people to wait their turn. But local big shots continue to parade up to the very front of the line, defying orderly procedure and common courtesy. Then one day my Head-master pulled the same trick. But he saw me in line, and in his courtly way, he asked me to come along with him. I know he was trying to be kind. But I also know that the common people were beginning to see what I, as an American, do not require preferential treatment. I would have felt to guilty in giving up that principle. So I politely declined, thanking him but saying I would wait my turn. His face looked awfully pale, but he said nothing and moved on. Since then we have not made very much progress in our relationship.

"They have very few staff meetings here, and those few have been meaningless. The Head-master simply dominates the scene, and the teachers listen and not obediently. What's more, they won't even admit that this bothers them! Before our last staff meeting, a week ago, I discussed several new proposals of mine with a few of the teachers who seem most receptive. Then I presented them in the faculty meeting for discussion. A sudden chill seemed to have entered the room! Not one of my fellow-teachers supported my ideas even though they had expressed some personal interest before the meeting. They just sat there like vegetables looking down at the table. The Head-master hardly seemed to hear me. He quickly brushed my proposals aside and went on handing out orders. He has been there since before many of the teachers were born. Even though many of them have more advanced education than he, they sit quietly as though they never had a thought in their heads. I could easily sense that I had alienated myself from him and the other teachers, and I do not intend to propose any new ideas. But the traditional way is so inadequate for the country's needs today and tomorrow."

You have exchanged visits with Nancy a few times, so you know her and her difficult situation quite well. She may have been too assertive at times; but she really has been trying hard to help these people and she does have a particularly old-fashioned Head-master. From your own experience and from Nancy's

and other PCV's experience, you know how easily the local people can try to blame their own shortcomings on some presumed mistake of a PCV. If they started spreading malicious gossip about Nancy, it could poison her further efforts to get along with the people. If she decided to request a transfer to another school, the gossip might spoil her chances. You want to prevent such a possibility before it is too late. The Rep might try to help officially when he returns, but things may get out of hand before then.

So you decided to try to see someone informally in the Ministry just so they would be better informed in case the Head-master spreads some distorted stories about Nancy. You phoned a friend in the Department of Secondary Education in the Ministry asking if she could arrange for you to have an informal little chat with her boss, the Director of the Department, who you had found very nice at a reception once. Much to your surprise, you received an official letter from this man, directing you to see one of his subordinates, the Head of the Division of Secondary English Teaching. That is OK so long as you can keep it simple and informally get across to someone in their operation that Nancy really means well, that she has been trying hard to do a good job, that she enjoys her teaching, that some of her students whom you have met like her very much, and that she has had to contend with some particular difficulties which are not entirely her fault.

You come to the office of the Division Head this afternoon at 2:30 as directed in the letter. They have kept you waiting with no explanation. It is now nearly 3:30. No one but a timid clerk has been taking care of the PC office while you have been wasting time here. But now at last the Division Head is ready to see you. You just want to make your point and get back to the office as soon as possible.

School Heads Host Country National Role

You are the Head of the Division of English Teaching, in the Department of Secondary Education, Ministry of Education in the capital city of _____.

Miss Nancy Gordon, a PCV is teaching 7th grade English in a secondary school in a small town about two hours from the capital. You gather that she has generally upset the school system and has shown no

proper respect for the senior leaders of the town and school. The headmaster complained privately to one of your fellow Division Heads that this Miss Gordon is much too head-strong to fit into the situation there, and this is interfering with her teaching and with the work of the other teachers. You have also heard from one of the English teachers in the school that Miss Gordon has indeed been too out-spoken for a young woman. She even refused the head master's offer of some minor hospitality or kindness in a public building with a large number of townsmen standing around. The headmaster was badly shamed by her display of poor taste.

Oddly enough, the secretary to the Peace Corps Director, asked to see your boss, the Department Director. He referred her to you, and she is now outside your office. You have kept her there nearly an hour: you have had more important things to do, and you are disgusted at the Americans. You strongly favored the idea of young Americans teaching English here, and helped persuade your boss to try it in secondary schools. Now he is disturbed at this case. It is clearly something for the PC Director to deal with personally. Why does he stoop to sending his secretary! Who does he think your boss, or you, are? Sending a mere secretary! Perhaps if you simply did not see her, she would understand and simply leave. But she is persistently sitting out there. You still cannot imagine why the PC Director himself has not come. It is even more mysterious why a secretary should address herself directly to a Department Director. Does she know nothing of positions and ranks in this country? Nobody here would think of going directly to your boss about an English teacher without seeing you first. You argued in favor of having American English teachers here, and the Americans have rewarded you by insulting your position.

On the basis of your present information, it seems fair to conclude that Miss Gordon is not very suitable for her work. One of the English teachers in the same school said she was critical of the instructional methods. She even tried to organize some sort of protest meeting of parents and teachers in which they could all "discuss their problems." If she had taken the trouble to find out, she would have known that any such changes would naturally be decided in the Ministry of Education and gradually worked out with the provincial educational officials. Through your own patient efforts, the Ministry has completely

modernised the use of English texts in recent years. Other changes are occurring in the same way, not by disturbing parents who know nothing about modern education.

More fundamentally, Miss Gordon, and apparently this secretary too, pay no attention to how things are done in the government service. All decisions are made at the top level and handed on down. Junior people know better than to express their opinions. If they have something to say, they will wait until later and make their points tactfully to senior officials. If children do not learn this in school, they will be useless after graduation. Without respect for the traditions, the country will simply fall into confusion as its government leaders try to modernise the society.

You will try to be patient with this young secretary, but she would really do much better to pay more attention to how things get effectively done around here.

APPENDIX B

A CASE STUDY FOR LATIN AMERICA

from PROFILES IN PERSISTENCE

Introduction

I joined the Peace Corps right after I got my degree in engineering. During training, I was told I had been assigned to a community development project in a coastal city with four other PCVs. I liked the group I was going to work with, and though we knew we would encounter problems, we had done a lot of research on the coastal area and felt we could avoid many of the difficulties others had experienced.

We arrived in the capital full of plans and enthusiasm. The Peace Corps Representative and three government officials met us at the airport, and we were shepherded through customs. After the officials had welcomed us, we had an informal meeting with the Rep and received our assignments. It turned out that I was to be sent, by myself, to a town in the interior. San Jorge's Community Development Office, with a staff of five, was serving an area with some 10,000 people in the two towns of San Jorge and San Jose and several outlying agricultural villages. One of the staff members was to be my counterpart.

When I said goodbye to the fellows I had planned to work with and climbed aboard an ancient bus for San Jorge, my initial enthusiasm was substantially damped. I knew little about conditions at my destination; I resented having wasted so much time studying the coastal economy and social conditions; and I wondered why I had been chosen for this remote location. We reached San Jorge late the next morning. After sleeping fitfully all night in the hard seat, I was convinced that I wouldn't see another gringo for the next two years. No one would make that trip unless it were a necessity. I took a sputtering taxi to the Community Development Office, and caused a stir among the staff by walking in unannounced with my two suitcases, a duffel bag, and a transistor radio. One of them escorted me to the Area Officer's headquarters in the back, a littered little cubicle containing a desk, three straight chairs, an imposing if unorganized array of pamphlets and papers, and my new superior.

He was a slightly paunchy middle-aged man who spoke broken English vivaciously. After greeting me effusively, he told me that my counterpart had been transferred, quickly adding that he knew the other workers would be glad to have my help because they were very busy. I could well understand that, in view of the size of the staff, but I wondered just what I would end up doing -- and who I would be doing it with.

For the rest of the day I was meeting people. I was one of the few North Americans they had ever seen and they regarded me as something of a curiosity, an attitude which my Spanish greetings diluted but did not dispel. The Area Officer invited me to stay with him until word was received about the housing the government was supposed to provide for me, and that evening he staged a welcome feast attended by about a dozen of his friends. It was preceded and accompanied by quantities of aguardiente, an alcholic beverage which looked like tequila, smelled like licorice, and felt like gasoline when it hit bottom. Drinking, I discovered, was a sign of manliness and proved to be an excellent way of gaining both respect and rapport. In fact, I gained so much rapport that I was almost ready to collapse by the time the guests left.

Exhausted as I was, rest was not for me that night. The unscreened windows let in hundreds of mosquitoes, and they timed their attacks to coincide with the moments when I was about to doze off. It was almost light before I managed to sleep for an hour, only to be awakened shortly after dawn by noisy children looking in my window.

PROBLEM I

Two of the village workers were at the office when we finally arrived after fortifying ourselves with several cups of black coffee. Pedro, the health worker, asked if I would like to go with him to the vaccination clinic in the square. I replied that I would. While awaiting for him, I noticed that I had not been introduced to the other worker, and I asked the Area Officer who he was.

"Juan?" he replied condescendingly. "He is from San Jose, and he was appointed to this position by Carlos Velazquez. He does not agree with plans of the government and he causes us trouble." He dismissed the subject with a shrug. I was curious about Juan and was going to introduce myself when Pedro called that he was leaving. I had to join him and made a mental note to do it later.

It was market day. Women shouted at potential customers and at each other; children and dogs frolicked and fought in the dust; bicycles, donkeys, trucks, and ox carts mingled with the pedestrians on the crowded streets leading into the square. Groups of men were drinking in the cantiñas and laughing uproariously at each others' cleverness. A loudspeaker in one corner of the square blared ranchero, chickens squawked, goats bleated, and a few horns honked.

Over the din, Pedro explained the clinic to me. It was held on one market day each six months for people from the surrounding territory who came into town to sell their produce. The

doctor from the village Health Center and his assistant did the actual work; Pedro simply checked on them to see that the government funds which supported the clinic were not being misused. Pedro was a young, rather shy fellow, slim in his white pants and shirt, with ragged sandals on his feet. When I asked him what other projects he was working on, he said, "Oh, so many. We are digging a well for the villagers over there and the Health Center must be kept running."

We were interrupted by two young men, apparently acquaintances of Pedro's. They greeted him and stared at me blankly. Pedro bashfully introduced me as "the American Peace Corps" and the two men snickered. One of them whispered something that sounded suspiciously like "Yankee Go Home" and then they both laughed. A small group began to gather around us, staring at me. Someone made another comment and this time they all laughed. Pedro stood mute and embarrassed; the situation was making him lose face in front of everyone.

I had not expected to be confronted so quickly with the problem of explaining my presence in Spanish, but I plunged in anyway, telling the villagers why I was there and what I would be doing. Pedro surprised me; when I stumbled for a word, he would supply it in a whisper with a question mark after it. I never would have made it through without him. They began to listen to me, and I found out some of their names and where they lived. They still had no conception of what the Peace Corps was all about, and it was a mystery to them why a Norte Americano would choose to come to their village when he could be living in luxury back home. But I think I did communicate my interest in them. Pedro stayed beside me, introducing me to the people he knew and being rather taken aback when I introduced him to the ones he didn't. I was about to speak to a tall, distinguished-looking gentleman when I noticed the Area Officer next to him. The gentleman was the Mayor, and after expressing his delight over the way I has spoken to the villagers in Spanish, he and the Area Officer invited me to have a drink with them. I agreed gladly, and we set off across the square to a small bar on the other side. I was somewhat dismayed when Pedro was not included in the invitation; he had played a large part in the success of my initial encounter with the villagers. But he insisted that he had to check up on the clinic and with a shy farewell he disappeared in the crowd.

For a while, the three of us discussed the Peace Corps, the many projects being conducted by the Community Development Office, and some of the Area Officer's pet ideas. However, it soon became apparent that the Mayor was less interested in business than in the communists. He and the Area Officer began speaking rapid Spanish after a few drinks, and it was good practice for me though I missed a lot of what was going on. Later we were joined by some members of the Junta, the elected village

council which, among its other duties, passed upon all public projects. Market day is a day for celebration, and we finished with supper in a small restaurant. I had dysentery for the next few days, but I ended up with several good and influential friends.

DISCUSSION, PROBLEM I

Explaining the Peace Corps

1. What questions might be asked by host nationals about a PCV's presence?

2. What kinds of explanations can a Volunteer give to a curious group which has never heard of the Peace Corps? What characteristics of the group are important in determining what approach to use?

3. How critical to his later effectiveness are the early situations in which a PCV must explain his and the Peace Corps' purpose? How would his future relationships be affected by the various types of explanations?

4. What are the pros and cons of an ineffective explanation vs. no explanation; i.e., how important is it for the Volunteer to do "something", even if he may fail to communicate adequately with the host nationals?

Understanding Host National Behavior

1. What may have motivated the crowd to gather around the newly arrived Volunteer?

2. How might the Volunteer try to assess the attitude of the crowd and the types of people which composed it? What cues might he use and what assumptions might he make?

3. What indications are there in this situation which bear upon the social structure of the community and customs pertaining to it?

Understanding the Volunteer's Situation

1. What kind of an initial impression should a Volunteer seek to make upon influential host nationals? Are there pitfalls that he should attempt to guard against in his first contacts with people such as the Mayor and the Area Officer?

2. How important for the Volunteer was his knowledge of the host national language? What would have been the effect of using Pedro as an interpreter in this situation?

3. What was the significance of receiving and accepting the invitation to live temporarily with the Area Officer?

4. Now that initial contact with the Mayor has been made, how might the Volunteer attempt to maintain the relationship?

NOTES

1. The Peace Corps trains Volunteers in many different categories such as: elementary education; secondary education; teaching English as a foreign language; mathematics, science; general studies; university education; urban and rural community development; community health action; agricultural extension; "blue collar" programs such as school construction, mechanics, roadbuilding; engineering, public health, nutrition; and public administration.

2. Guide to Peace Corps Training, Division of Training (Washington, D.C.: Peace Corps, 1961).

3. Ibid.

4. Letters From the Philippines, Division of Volunteer Support (Washington, D.C.: Peace Corps, 1964).

5. The Division of Training became the Division of University Relations and Training in 1964.

6. William G. Craig, Report from Wingspread (Washington, D.C.: Peace Corps, 1964).

7. Wisconsin-Hawaii Report, Division of University Relations and Training (Washington, D.C.: Peace Corps, 1964).

8. Training Information Requests, Division of University Relations and Training (Washington, D.C.: Peace Corps, 1965).

9. Frank Mankiewicz, An Explanation of Community Development As It Is Practiced By the Peace Corps in Latin America (Washington, D.C.: Peace Corps, 1964).

10. Edward C. Stewart, Aspects of American Culture Assumptions and Values That Affect Cross-Cultural Effectiveness, Human Resources Research Office, George Washington University, Alexandria, Feb. 1965, p. 2-4.

11. Ibid., p. 1

12. Allan Kulakow, The Tongue-Tied American, Division of University Relations and Training (Washington, D.C.: Peace Corps, 1964).

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14. Marie C. Gadsen, Peace Corps Volunteers Employed as English Teachers, Division of University Relations and Training (Washington, D.C.: Peace Corps 1965).

15. Training Program Syllabus For Dominican Republic Rural Community Action, Camp Crozier, Arecibo, Puerto Rico, February 1964.

16. Joseph Murphy, Practice-Teaching in West Indies (St. Croix, U. S. Virgin Islands: Peace Corps 1965).

17. Richard L. Hopkins, Outward Bound, Peace Corps Training Syllabus, Camp Crozier, Arecibo, Puerto Rico, February 1964: "A great deal is being asked of the men and women who volunteer to give two years of their lives to the work of the Peace Corps. There is no assurance of personal regard beyond the satisfaction which comes from rising to a challenge; and it is quite possible that two years of difficult work will produce few tangible results. On the other hand, frustration and hardship are certain to be constant companions. It is, therefore, essential that before embarking on such an assignment the Volunteer have a realistic assessment of his own capacity, his goals, and his endurance in the face of continued challenge. Every individual has certain limits beyond which he does not readily push himself. Many of these limits are natural and sensible. Others are irrationally derived from force of habit and lack of realism rather than by actual physical barriers. It is this second category of limitations which the 'outward bound' experience is designed to help the Volunteer understand and overcome. In helping the individual to overcome imagined barriers, the Camp and its staff seek to encourage confidence and staying power in the Volunteer.

"There is no general objective to the 'outward bound' program beyond that of helping each individual to face his own shortcomings without the alternative of easy retreat. For each trainee the Camp offers the opportunity for growth in whichever area he may find himself deficient. The individual will not change in characteristics, but will reveal, face, and build upon the personal resources he has brought with him. It is not the intent to mold uniformity, but to encourage in the individual that which will make him a stronger and more effective person in the field. The 'outward bound' program will be distributed throughout the entire training program. It will cover these four major areas of activity: Drown-proofing, Rock Climbing, Obstacle Course, Trekking."

18. Field Training, a Guide To Its Basic Components, Division of University Relations and Training (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Peace Corps 1965).

19. Dartmouth College Senior Year Training Program, Teachers for French-Speaking West Africa, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., June 1964.

20. Evaluation Report, San Jose State College, Philippine Training, October 1965.

21. Final Report, San Jose State College, Teachers of Math and Science in the Philippines, Sept. 1965.

22. Kenneth D. Frandsen and Frank E. X. Dance, Evaluation Study: Peace Corps Volunteer Discussion Leaders' Training Unit, The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Speech and Communication Center, Sept. 1965.

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25. Sargent R. Shriver, Jr., "A Commencement Address," St. John's University, Jamaica, N. Y., June 1965.

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